THE

CRISIS.

NUMBER L. *To be continued Weekly,*

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-------*Dolus*, an *Virtus*, quis in *hoſte* requirit?

Whether by *Valour*, or *Deceit* we tame
Our *hoſtile Children*, 'tis to *Bute* the ſame.
Let *Bute's Commiſſion ſcottiſh Treachery try*;
The want of *Force Bute's Treaty* will ſupply;
Freedom and *Bute* are Foes.------let *Freedom* die.

IN my laſt I ſhewed that our *virtuous adminiſtration*, by their acceſſaries in a corrupt parliament, had laid a plan for the ſecret, and (as they hoped) effectual deſtruction of *America* by *Popery*---by the intended *reſtraining Bill*, now paſſing with the greateſt rapidity through both houſes, at the thinneſt ſeaſon, two freſh nets are ſpread for the ruin of oppreſſed *America*, by *treaty* upon land, and *captures* at *ſea*.---Thus are *policy* and *piracy* like *war*, and *conciliation*, jumbled together, with moſt profound wiſdom in one and the ſame Bill. The Britiſh arms, like the Britiſh policy, have hitheto been foiled, diſgraced, diſpiſed and providentially diſappointed in *America*. No ſufficient *land forces* can be raiſed, *adminiſtration* are now going to try their fortune upon *ſea*, at the ſame time craftily equiping, not an *army* (for they

they cannot) but a ſpecious commiſſion for the land ſervice; whoſe buſineſs is, *not to invade*, but to *undermine*, not to *attack* but to *betray*, AMERICA; in this and in this alone, *adminiſtration* are conſiſtent, in endeavouring to accompliſh the baſeſt ends by the baſeſt means, *America* is not to be *enſlaved* by arms, ſhe muſt therefore be attempted by reſtraint, perfidy, ſnares, ſtratagem and proſcription. *England* at the very outſet of the diſpute, withdrew her protection from AMERICA, and bent upon *enſlaving* her, not only ſpurned her ſupplications, but treated her with the earlieſt and moſt unjuſtifiable hoſtilities; not wiſhing to *reclaim* her as a refractory *child*, but to *extripate* her as an odious, becauſe ſhe was a virtuous enemy; becauſe ſhe boldly and bravely claimed the undoubted rights and previleges of a *Britiſh colony*; becauſe ſhe inſiſted, with the greateſt truth, that *ſubordination* and *ſlavery*, were terms of a very different import, and diſdained to be degraded from the rational ſtate of a *ſubject* to the ſervile, tame, and helpleſs condition of a *Brute*. Not yet convinced of her erroneous notions either by *famine*, *fleets*, or *armies*, it remains for her to be attacked by *privateers* and *ſtate-commiſſioners*. Every Engliſh Veſſel on the American Seas, from a firſt rate to a pinnace, is to be armed againſt her, and every *Scotchman*, is exerting his intereſt to be nominated in this *muckle gude* commiſſion, (now in contemplation, every *Sawney* pretends to ſome knowledge of *juris prudence*, and therefore thinks himſelf equal to the Buſineſs. But this kind of learning will be uſeleſs, for Sir *George Hay* has told us lately in the Houſe of Commons, that the *Laws of Nations* are not to be obeyed in a *treaty*, with *rebellious* ſubjects. The *Doctor* (like a true *court-civilian*,) took much learned pains to eſtabliſh this poſition, in order to juſtify (if poſſible) the flagrant inhumanity of government, which has hitherto treated the AMERICANS, (contrary to the *law* of *nature*,) without the leaſt regard to humanity, charity, chriſtianity, and reaſon, under ſanction of the omnipotent law of *Parliament*, which has conformed throughout, with the ſteadieſt perſeverance, to the pleaſure of the *miniſter*. The *doctor's foreſtian declamation* interlarded with latin quotations, unintelligible to more than half the houſe, might have been well ſpared.

Under the preſent miniſterial influence, (the baneful influence of BUTE) no treaty with *America*, can proceed in earneſt; the *commiſſion*, the *treaty*, the *conciliation talked of*, are mere pretexts, blinds and mockeries; a real *conciliation* will not anſwer the purpoſes of the preſent patriotic *adminiſtration*, they are bent (like true *tories*) upon obtaining deſpotic ſway, and illegal plunder throughout the *Colonies*.

Theſe glorious *prerogatives*, having once taken root in *America*, are by degrees, or perhaps at once (when *Bute* and *Mansfield* ſhall give the nod) be tranſplanted hither, and naturalized under the foſtering wings of a *Scotch adminiſtration*, a *corrupt parliament*, a *ſtanding army*, and a *tyrannic baby*, who is ſufficiently pleaſed if he can purchaſe childiſh toys and baubles, empty power, and prerogative, with the BLOOD of MILLIONS. Will ſuch a hopeful *junto* ever treat in earneſt with *America*? never.---They have not, they cannot have, a thought of reinſtating that injured country in all her undoubted rights, upon other terms they know ſhe will not treat, upon other terms ſhe will not exiſt. Theſe are the fixt reſolutions of her *patriotic Congreſs*. But with this *general Congreſs*, our *Commiſſioners* will be forbid to treat. No.---they are to regain each province *ſeparately* by the dint

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of ſuperior wiſdom and deluſive declarations, but above all, by the great electrical ſhock, which they intend to give theſe *Rebels*, (as they call them) by this impious *preliminary*: Firſt *lay down your arms*.--- This firſt word of *command*, is a compleat key to *Doctor Haye's* late learned ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons. Upon this previous requiſition, I will venture to foretell, that the *American treaty* will break off immediately. This is the expectation and hope of our preſent miniſtry, who are born and formed, for acting upon no other than the moſt deſtructive principles. for this reaſon they will arm their *commiſſioners* with articles of *treaty* in one hand, and a *reſtraining act* in the other; *America* may then take her choice, whether ſhe will be ſhackled by *land*, or pillaged and diſmembered upon the *ocean*; all her effects will be lawful *prize*, and all her ſeamen will be *rebels*, This will be the reſult of the pretended *treaty*, and the contemptible fruits of the new *reſtraining bill*.

Contemptible I call them for they will ſoon be blaſted by the wiſdom, vigilence, and ſpirit of *America*; Our ſtate politicians have already rouſed a *Lion* in the field, and they will ſhortly find a *Leviathan* in the waters, inſtead of healing the breach they have already made, they are moſt injudiciouſly calling forth all the powers of a vaſt territory, againſt us both by ſea and land..

Miſ-inſormed and ignorant as theſe *miniſterial miſcreants* are in every point, they do not know, they have not the leaſt conception, that *America*, whom they are now enraging till ſhe puts forth all her ſtrength, has it in her power, to be great and terrible, even unto the *ocean*. I aver and it is well known by thoſe who know her, that there is no one requiſite for this purpoſe which ſhe has not within herſelf. Add to this, as we have lately felt to our ſorrow, (the miſerable remains of our defeated army there will witneſs it) ſhe wants neither diſcipline, activity, nor courage, whatever men can effect by theſe, has already been effected by *America* upon *Land*. Will ſhe be leſs induſtrious with every advanrage of art and nature on her ſide, to make a figure worthy of her upon *ſea?* She is no ſtranger to the art of building or navigating ſhips.---- will ſhe be unable, or afraid to fight them? I ſhould not credit *Lord Denbigh*, no, nor *Lord Sandwich*, who holds the *trident* at our board of admiralty, were they to aſſert it.

I believe theſe *bablers*, theſe perpetual *yelpers* in the *miniſterial pack*, have now ſufficient reaſon to run ſilent, ſince the laſt advice from *America*. The *Americans* have not proved paltroons and cowards, (for ſo their lordſhips propheſied) upon land, nor will they diſgrace their country or their cauſe upon the deep. Till they are called into action there, I ſhall amuſe myſelf with the conjectures I have formed upon this *mock-commiſſion*, and its ſucceſs by *treaty*.

Upon this ſubject I will pronounce boldly, in one deciſive word, that without a change of *men* and *meaſures* at the helm, there can be no re-union with *America*, I need not conſider articulately what demands ſhe may reaſonably make, let me only ſuppoſe, in one word, with every warlike advantage on her ſide, ſhe ſubmits to a *reconciliation*, even now, upon being

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put in *ſtatuquo*. and upon having thoſe rights reſtored to her which have been wreſted from her, together with the liberty, ſo juſtly claimed by her, of *giving* and *granting* away her own peculiar property acquired (as I have often ſaid and ſay again) by the ſweat of her own brow, in a *diſtinct community*, ſubordinate indeed (and ſo ſhe owns) to the *equity*, but not to the *tyranny*, of Engliſh *Lords* or *Laws*. Suppoſe *victorious America*, ſhould aſk no more after her towns and cities have been wantonly laid in aſhes, and her young men and maidens given up to FIRE, FAMINE, and the SWORD? Will the preſent humane *adminiſtration* ſign a *treaty* upon theſe terms? no, all they mean is to *diſ-unite* the provinces, procure the *American army* to be diſbanded, and then their point is gained.

This *tory adminiſtration* have begun like *butchers*, they will *treat* like FOXES, and keep their faith like *devils*, their principles are *deſpotic*, with a *treaty* in their hands, *extirpation* and *extirpation* only, is in their hearts. Tho' *Bute* rules no longer, (thank heaven) *within* the curtains, yet he ſtill rules *behind* the curtain. Under ſuch an accurſed influence *freedom* muſt be blaſted, a *Stuart* near is like a *Stuart* in the throne. Under this malignant influence, no *addreſſes* have been *graciouſly* received but ſuch as have moſt conſtitutionally ſolicited our *pious ſovereign* to draw blood enough from the noble veins of diſtreſſed *America*. *Adminiſtration*, in the vanity of their hearts, had devoted her as a certain victim to their deſpotic Views, their murderous machinations have been foiled, the united forces of *Great Britain* are not ſufficient to guard us at home, and at the ſame time maſſacre our gallant colonies abroad. No *recruits* for ſuch bloody and inhuman purpoſes can be raiſed, *adminiſtration*, therefore, are now attempting to eke out the Lion's ſkin with the Fox's tail. They are calling *ſtratagem* in to aid *tyranny*.

The firſt pretence of theſe *negotiating deſpots* will be, that it is not conſiſtent with the dignity of *Great Britain*, to treat with *rebels under arms*, if *America* on any pretence, lays down her arms, till ſhe is *ſecure* ſhe is no more, let her, who can baffle *arms* beware of *ſnares*. let injured and oppreſſed *America* remember, that her *cauſe* dignifies her meaſures, and put her on an honourable level, with the greateſt potentates upon earth, ſhe has been oppreſſed, diſowned, abandoned as a *child*, let her therefore treat with her unnatural and hoſtile *parent* with the greateſt caution, nay, with ſome degree of prudential diſtruſt and jealouſy, the meaſures of a *tyrannic government* will juſtify her; let her treat, not as an helpleſs, paſſive *Colony*, but as an injured, inſulted, and offended *Nation*. Let her hear of no alternatives, after ſuch an impious *aſſaſſination*, but ample *reſtitution*, or total *extirpation*. In a word, let her conſent to remain a *ſubject*, but ſtill diſdain to be a *ſlave*. Unleſs ſhe can ſhare the *Rights* of a Britiſh Subject, let her deſpite the *name*. Should her fortune (after treachery, war and tyranny have done their worſt) be only equal to her glorious ſpirit, ſhe muſt be *free*. Should ſhe, in ſpite of all her fortitude and virtue, prove unſucceſsful, ſhe may at length become a *ſlave*-----but not to *England*. Alas! our ſhallow *Miniſtry* (though aided by their conceited politician *Mansfield*) are but little aware of the *American recources* and *revolts*. They have felt the arm, but are as yet, ſtrangers to the internal ſtrength and native magnanimity of ſuch an *enemy*, if ſhe ſurvives, ſhe will ſet them a Roman example of true policy and ſuperior greatneſs, if ſhe falls, ſhe will aſtoniſh, confound, and cruſh them with her ruin, their inſolent menaces are but air, their iniquitous acts of parliament, like their arms,

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are impotent; their miditated *treacheries* under colour of a pretended *treaty*, will be at once (as they themſelves are) the ſcorn of *America* the redicule and deteſtation of mankind.

What man of real honour will ſanctify a *mock-commiſſion* with his name, or a perfidious *treaty* with his preſence? not *Sir Jeffery Amhurſt* ſurely?---- The honeſt part of the nation has better hopes of him. A man of honour will not be made a *tool*. Lord *George Germaine* has been ſpoken of for this *honourable* ſervice. His talents, which were *before* miſtaken, may now, perhaps, be uſeful. His *ſword* will not be wanted, and *training* may be his Lordſhip's *fort*. But he muſt ſtill treat as a *Subaltern*, under *orders*. Can we ſuppoſe his Lordſhip will underſtand the *orders* of Lord *North* better than he did the *orders* of Prince *Ferdinand?* Will Lord *George Germaine*, behave more to the ſatisfaction of his *commander* at the *treaty* of *Boſton*, than Lord *George Sackville* did at the *battle* of MINDEN? Upon the whole, is a man ſo *ſtained* (let his *courtly-merits* be what they will) fit to be a *Commiſſioner* of a *Turnkipe?* Unleſs the *conciliating miniſter* can find men of *ſeeming* honour to execute his purpoſe, his attempts on *America* by *treaty* will be vain.

In that *commiſſion Knavery's* plain face muſt not appear. An aſpect ſo malignant would fruſtrate all hopes of prevailing by *deceit*, even before the opening of the COMMISSION.

Therefore all Miniſterial Lacqueys, Penſioners, Placemen, Tories, Scotchmen, and Cowards, ſhould, in good policy, be kept at home. The names of ſuch ſervile wretches may diſhonour the Great Seal of England, but ſuch ſlaves of power cannot be properly qualified even to *deceive America*. They will help to ſwallow part of the *national Supplies* indeed, but if our *yielding* Adminiſtration wiſh (and it is their only wiſh) to amuſe, betray, and enſnare *America*; they muſt ſend *Inſtruments*, who have, at leaſt, the *ſemblance* of ſome virtues. Even Sir *Grey*, (the quondam Mr.) *Cooper*, tho' lately *dubbed* and *dignified* for the purpoſes of carrying and managing the *Commiſſion*, even this *Sir Truſty*, this *Ambidexter* to Lord *North*, will (if his Lordſhip is wiſe) be ordered, upon ſecond thoughts, to ſtay in Englaod. The *Man* ſmells too ſtrong of the *Maſter* for *America*. She can have no confidence in *apparent Tools*. Such *ſupple* Delegates as theſe from the very ſink of *corruption*, will give the *Americans* juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the intended cheat before it can be played off. Set *Sir Grey* aſide, and prick me down, in his ſtead, the *rhetorical* Mr. INNIS. He cannot *ſpeak*, but he can *read*, to liſtening *America*, (as he lately did to an admiring *Houſe of Commons*) the moſt *enlarged* and *pureſt* notions of *Civil* LIBERTY. *Hear him! hear him!* his two beſt and and ſtrongeſt arguments againſt *American Liberty* are theſe: 1ſt, Becauſe there is a variety of claimers among them who cannot all be as they pretend, *Deſcendants* of the Firſt Settlers; namely, Scotch, Iriſh, Indians, and even Tranſported Felons. But, Mr. INNIS will permit me, with all the deference of a modeſt Opponent, to aſk him, Whether Scotch and Iriſh, by *Tranſplantation*, loſe their *Birth-right?* Whether the Tawny *Indian* is leſs free than the faireſt ſubjects of *Great Britain*, becauſe he has a copper-caſt of countenance? and whether the *tranſported Felon* is not *free*, after his term of puniſhment is expired, as the *Sovereign* who ſigned his warrant?

warrant?----Now hear Mr. *Innes*'s ſecond objection to the *freedom* of *America*; it is, becauſe many, if not moſt, of her natives draw their firſt ſuſtenance from the boſom of *Slaves*, let me remind Mr. *Innes* here, that wiſer Engliſhmen than he, have, in their infancy, been nouriſhed by Goats, Cows, and Aſſes, are they therefore to be numbered with the beaſt of the field?

One ſhould think, that the learned *Dr. Haye*, (who has lately laboured with *Mr. Innes* in the ſame oral drudgery, as a mouth-piece for the miniſter) had helped Mr. *Innes* to a falſe poſition, viz. partus ſequitur--*mammam*--inſtead of---*Ventrem*. Be this as it may, Mr. *Innes*'s mode of reaſoning will ſecure him from all ſuſpicion of deſign, and therefore he will be the better qualified to act a part, under a *proper Inſtructor*, in this national-commiſſion, the mode of its proceedings will be perfectly agreeable to the narroweſt ſoul that can be employed in it; it will be directed by BUTE, and ſettled finally by MANSFIELD; the two great patrons of Civil Liberty; to whom AMERICA will at laſt owe a glorious *Independent Empire*, and GREAT BRITAIN, in all probability, another glorious *Revolution*.

CASCA.

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